

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Meitheamh (June) 1969. Iml.XXIII. Uimhir 6. Luach 9d. (US and Canada 25c.)

STORMONT BAN DEFIED

The Stormont ban on the sale of the United Irishman in the Six Counties will be publicly defied in all major centres throughout the area this month.

The ban, first imposed in 1954, was renewed for a three-year period on 23rd December last by the then Minister of Home Affairs, Captain W. J. Long.

The United Irishman has, of course, been sold continuously in the Six Counties despite the ban but, in recent years at least, there has been no organised sale in public areas.

The free sale of the United Irishman is a civil rights issue and will be pursued as such by Republicans in the North just as they have defied the ban on Republican Clubs. The Republicans demand the same rights accorded to every other newspaper in Ireland and are determined to stand firm against any attempt by the Stormont régime to enforce their anti-democratic and discriminatory ban.

...THORITIES (SPECIAL POWERS) ACTS
 ... (Northern Ireland) 1922 to 1943...
 ... Regulation 8 of the regulations to which the said Acts apply (being a regulation made by the Minister of Home Affairs and having effect and to be enforced in like manner as regulations contained in the Schedule to the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland) 1922, is provided that if it appears to the Minister of Home Affairs that the publication or continued publication of any newspaper, periodical, book, circular or other printed matter is prejudicial to or likely to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of order in Northern Ireland the said Minister may by Order prohibit for any specified period the publication of any such newspaper, periodical, book, circular or other printed matter:
 AND WHEREAS it is further provided by the said Regulations that if any person shall, within such specified period, publish, circulate or distribute or be in any way connected with the printing, publication, circulation or distribution of any newspaper, periodical, book, circular or other printed matter which has been prohibited under the said Regulations, he shall be guilty of an offence under the said Regulations to which the aforesaid Acts apply:
 WHEREAS it appears to me, the said Minister of Home Affairs, that the publication or continued publication or distribution of the newspaper entitled "THE UNITED IRISHMAN" hereafter in this Order specified is prejudicial to the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of order in Northern Ireland:
 WHEREFORE, I, CAPTAIN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOSEPH LONG, J.P., M.P., Minister of Home Affairs for Northern Ireland, in exercise of the powers vested in me by the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland) 1922 to 1943, and the said Regulation 8, and all other powers enabling me in this behalf, DO hereby order that the publication and distribution of the newspaper entitled:

"THE UNITED IRISHMAN"

under that title or under any other title or description whatsoever, or any part of the said newspaper, shall be, and is hereby prohibited in Northern Ireland until the 31st day of December, 1971.

Belfast this 23rd day of December, 1968.

W. J. LONG,
 Minister of Home Affairs
 for Northern Ireland

ELECTRICIANS VICTIMISED BY FOREIGN FIRM

B.K. French, an English electrical contractor, sacked 66 electricians on the 23rd of April last, because of the support that these men had given to fitters and riggers who were in dispute with their employers, Engineering Products of Dublin. The sackings took place at the new tyre factory of the Austrian company of Semperit Ltd. at Killeen Road, Ballyfermot.

The reason given for their dismissal was that due to unofficial disputes it was necessary to re-programme the contract. It was never French's intention to re-employ these men however, as, a few days later they advertised in all the daily papers for electricians.

B. K. French have adopted a spiteful and dictatorial attitude towards the men. They refused to negotiate with the union and told the Labour Exchange that the men were involved in an industrial dispute and therefore prevented them from getting unemployment benefit. The mens' Union, the ETU, did not rush to help their members. The Union attitude was that they could do no more than plead with French to allow the men back to work. The Union was unwilling to sanction strike action.

This disgraceful attitude by Union Officials so annoyed the men that they picketed the Union offices in protest. At this time with anti-trade union legislation already introduced, employers are increasingly treating their workers with contempt, as if trade unions did not exist. It is a matter of grave concern to all trade unionists and trade unions and it is their duty to ensure that any such action by employers is resolutely rebuffed.

Militant and determined action, such as occurred during the disputes at G. A. Brittain's and Telefusion, is needed to prevent the erosion of workers rights in this country, gained at such great cost.

As we go to press the men are still carrying on with their struggle against injustice.

● Members of the ETU picketing their own union last month.

Rents increase after the election

Dublin Corporation rents will be increased after the elections. This increase is to cover the rise in Dublin rates struck last month by the Dictator of Dublin, Local Government Commissioner Garvan. Mr. Garvan was appointed by the Minister for Local Government to replace the Dublin City Council which refused to strike the higher rate.

The increase will be charged to tenants of Corporation rented houses from July 2. To avoid the uproar which

retrospective charges would cause the increase will be divided by the number of weeks remaining in 1969 from the starting date, which is 38. The average valuation of rented houses is £15 and the average increase will be around 3/9 per week.

The increase would normally have come at the beginning of June but, with Mr. Boland in complete control of the Corporation he has been able to hold off until after the elections.



letters to the editor

wales

I feel that people should know what life has been like during the last four years for the patriots now on trial in Swansea assizes. I can write with first hand knowledge of only one of the nine, Mr. J. Cayo-Evans, a 31 year old horse-breeder from Cardiganshire. He is a married man with three young children, one barely two weeks old at the time of his arrest, and his daughter three, his firstborn son aged one and six months.

Since it first became known to the public that Cayo, as he is now called, is a nationalist; an "extreme" only in the fact that he is prepared to fight for the freedom of his country, his life has been that of a hunted man.

The Police have harassed him wherever he goes — a small but significant instance is a parking ticket received whilst he took his wife into Carmarthen maternity hospital, the car being parked near the entrance for a mere 15 minutes. Police have tried to blacken his character by any means, open to them — whether fair or foul.

Another significant instance being that on a return journey from a nationalist meeting in Caernarvon, he was stopped and taken to the Police station where he was given the breathalyzer test, disregarding the fact that he was under the safety limit, the police tried to get his blood sample back from his doctor by threatening the doctor's wife one evening when she was alone. You may well ask yourselves why? . . .

On the 14th of December at Cilmeri, where a gathering of nationalists were commemorating the death of the last true Prince of Wales, Prince Llewellyn, a young woman overheard two Special Branch men say that "tonight we will 'get' Cayo-Evans". That evening five policemen beat him up and took him to Buihth Wells Police station where he was charged with assaulting a police officer! Although there were many witnesses to confirm that he had been ruthlessly attacked and beaten up, and the young woman to confirm that the police had that very morning stated that they would 'get' him, he was fined and given a suspended sentence. Significant indeed when now we know what Jock Wilson had at the back of his mind . . .

Chief Superintendent Jock Wilson is now in charge of security arrangements for the forthcoming investiture. He is a man at present to be sued for telling an Israeli film director who has been making a film on events in Wales over a period of five years, that "The Aberfan people are only drunks and buggers anyway". This strange man was also in charge of the dawn arrests of the nine patriots on the 26th of Feb. His gestapo methods are not forgotten by the wives and children of the nine patriots. Their homes have been ransacked six times after various explosions in Wales even though it was evident that they have never actually been involved in any of these explosions. They have now been arrested and will be used as scapegoats in this ceremonial trial.

The nine arrested have been softened up for this trial and prevented from mounting a defence by two months solitary confinement and they are now in a weak and confused state of mind for this pantomime of a trial whereby the court is being used as a weapon of tyranny to suppress the legitimate demands of Welsh people; and to intimidate nationalists who

oppose the investiture of 'Carlo'. Only approved press have been allowed into the courtroom, and many people have been turned away and threatened — the wives have been manhandled and searched on their way to the public gallery, and two were even turned away and insulted.

All nine express gratitude to the U.I. for being the only paper to publish the truth. Mail is obviously censored to and from the prison. Welshman.

delay

A Chara,
As Secretary of the Barnes and McCormack Repatriation Committee I have had many queries from all parts of Ireland regarding the lengthy delay in the bringing home from England of the remains of those two brave Irishmen. Lest any should think that it is due to the inactivity of the above Committee, I wish to assure them that this is not so.

At a meeting of the Committee held recently in Mullingar, information was received which indicated that the matter now rests with the Government of the Twenty-Six Counties and has for some time now. All present were unanimous in voicing a strong protest against the delay and are anxious that the well-wishers of this project should learn wherein the responsibility for the delay lies.

May I suggest that those many people who have generously subscribed to this project should join with the Committee in voicing their disapproval of any action which might hinder or unduly delay the repatriation of Jimmy McCormack and Peter Barnes.

Surely it is not unreasonable for their relatives to wish to have the remains of those two men reinterred in consecrated grounds at home in Ireland.

Is mise,
Caithlin Uí Mhuimhneachain,
Runal Cumann Athdhulchlu Barnes agus Mac Cormaic,
An Muileann Cearr.

advice

Another branch of the Citizens' Advice Bureau has been established in Ringsend area. This branch has been organised by the Mitchell Cumann, Sinn Féin. The bureau is now open to the public at 20 Bridge Street, Ringsend, on Sunday mornings between the hours of 11.30 and 1 p.m. and Monday nights between the hours of 7 p.m. and 8 p.m.

The need for the establishment of a Citizens' Advice Bureau in the Ringsend and surrounding areas came to the fore when tenants in Luke Street approached the cumann about trouble they were having with their landlord. A Tenants' Association has now been set up in Luke Street with the help of the newly established Advice Bureau. The bureau's main task will be to organise the people at every level to defend their rights.

Advice will be available to citizens on legal matters and to citizens who are encountering difficulty with Corporation Authorities, State or semi-State bodies.

SINN FEIN,
Citizens' Advice Bureau,
20 Bridge Street,
Ringsend,
Dublin 4.

FISHERIES PROTEST AT ERRIFF RIVER



● Unionist Housing Action at Caledon, Co. Tyrone, in 1968.

The National Waters Restoration League held its most successful meeting to date in Cushlough near the Erriff River, Co. Mayo. A public demonstration, attended by over two hundred people heard Tadhg O hOistin and Sean O'Cionnaith, Sinn Féin Organiser for Connacht, make demands for the ending of private ownership of rivers and lakes in Mayo, Galway, Sligo and Roscommon. The meeting was presided over by Liam Tunney who told his audience: the aim of the National Waters Restoration League is to demand that the Twenty Six County Government acquire the fishery rights of lakes and rivers, estuaries and bays of Ireland."

Speaking at the meeting Tadhg O'hOistin told the assembly of the new cheque book conquests: "The owners of fisheries were mostly composed of ex-British Army Officers and conquest landlords. While these people and their invited guests fished the rivers at their leisure the plain people of Ireland have to resort to poaching by illegal methods and risk prosecution".

Sean O'Cionnaith read a list of owners in Mayo, Sligo and Galway and said: "Sir Richard Levinge (Guinness and

Zetland Hotels) owned part of the salmon rights in the Ballinahinch scheme, all of Gabhla Inbear systems in Connemara and the Burren-hoole system in Mayo; R. O. V. Stoney owned the Owen-garve at Mallranny; Lt. Col. Baker Haslemere, Surrey, owned part of the Moy in Mayo; Major R. B. Aldridge owned another part of the Moy; Major C. W. Roberts, Newport, Co. Mayo manages Burrenhoole for Sir Richard Levinge; Mr. Wood-Martin owned the Garravogue River, Sligo; Mrs. Marsh, an English woman managed the Erriff river for Lord Sligo., who also owned several hundred acres of Co. Mayo land with fishing rights on the Bundoor-ragha, Bunowen and Carrow-iskey rivers at Louisburg; Mr. Smith of Newport House owned and managed the Brown Oak river at Newport."

Placards displayed during the meeting read "National Waters Restoration League Fight—Peoples' Fight"; Erriff river belongs to the whole people of Ireland"; Nationalise Inland Fisheries".

The National Waters Restoration League, which was formed in 1965, now has active branches in Sligo, Mayo, Tyrone, Dublin, Galway, Kildare, Donegal, Louth, Kilkenny, Cork and Kerry.

DERRY UNIONISTS HOUSING ACTION

A Housing Action Committee was formed in Derry last month by members of the Young Unionist Association in the area.

A spokesman for the committee said that it was intended to hold a housing rally in the city in the near future.

A statement issued by the committee said: "Our aims are to ensure that the points system is worked so as to give fair play to all citizens in the allocation of houses". The statement went on: "We want to see people living in sub-standard conditions having their rents reduced in proportion to the defects. Landlords should be bound by law

to maintain these premises properly".

This recent move by the Young Unionists can only be seen as a tribute to the good work that the Derry Housing Action Committee has been doing in recent months to highlight poor living conditions in the city.

As long ago as last October the Derry Housing Action Committee, in its news bulletin, "Reality", stated: "what we are stressing is not a religious thing at all; it is a case of one class living off another". It looks like the Derry Young Unionist Housing Action Committee is on its way towards recognising this fact.

GALWAY I.R.A. IN LAND WAR

Galway command of the I.R.A. last month claimed responsibility for the destruction of walls, fencing, and a piped water supply scheme on a large estate at Mannin, Ardahan, Co. Galway.

A statement issued by the organisation said: "The action was carried out by the I.R.A. in support of demands that the estate be acquired and divided among thirteen smallholders to prevent it falling into the hands of speculators". The statement went on: "We call on the small farmers of Connacht to take the initiative to establish land leagues wherever there are large estates and to demand their acquisition by the Land Commission".

Immediately following the

I.R.A. action a £100 malicious damages claim under S. 1 of the Malicious Injury (Ireland) Act 1853 (An English Act introduced at the height of the Land War) was lodged with Galway County Council by Mr. Patrick J. Murphy, Mount Amber, Athenry. When the claim was being discussed a stormy scene ensued in the council chamber. Councillor Frank Glynn (Sinn Féin) led opposition to the claim: "The tenants of this area had been given aid by the illegal organisation—this was the kernel of the problem".

Councillor Hugh Melvin attacked the claim (in a way advised in a U.I. article — "Going going gone" — April issue): "I cannot see why the people of this area should be burdened with the responsibility for the claim; an illegal organisation has claimed that they were responsible, and it is completely unfair that ratepayers should be faced with this bill."

Last month Meath N.F.A. Executive recommended that a claim for malicious damages following the explosion at Ferans Lock should be refused by Meath County Council.

Refusal to pay these bills, or rather refusal to pass over the responsibility for paying them as a burden on the ratepayers is the correct attitude to adopt to all such claims at the moment as it is understood that the Twenty Six County Office of Law Reform has been considering changing the law on the matter for some time.

ROINN NA GAEILGE AR BUN AG SINN FEIN

Cuireadh fo-choiste den Ard-Chomhairle ar bun anuraidh chun cuis na Gaeilge a chur chun cinn i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta: B'iad Tomas Mac Giolla, Sean O Bradaigh agus Sean Mac Stiofain baill an fho-choiste sin.

Ag athnu doibh tabhacht na Gaeilge don Naisiun, agus don Ghluaiseacht go hairithe, ta se beartaithe ag an Ard-Chomhairle anois *Roinn na Gaeilge* a bhunú, agus Sean Mac Stiofain ina Stiurthoir air. Tathar ag suil anois le coisti a eagraj i mbailte mar Ath Cliath, Corcaigh, Beal Feirste, Luimneach agus aon ait eile ina bhfuil eagraiocht maith againn, chun an obair tabhachtach seo a chur ar aghaidh.

Is feidir leis na coisti seo suirbhe a dheanamh ar staid na Gaeilge sa Ghluaiseacht: liosta a dheanamh de (a) Gaeilgeoiri liofa; (b) daoine le mean-Ghaeilge; (c) iad san ar bheagan Gaeilge.

I gcas (a) thuas, na cainteoiri liofa, ba choir go mbeadh na daoine seo sasta an leagan Gaeilge — an

leagan ceart — da nainm agus seoladh a usaid i gconai. Ta dualgas ar na daoine seo cinnireacht a thabhairt ar cheist na Gaeilge: mar sin, bheadh siad sasta ainm is seoladh Gaeilge a usaid ar an uile ocaid (ni amhain nuair ata siad istigh ag cruinniú).

(b) Is feidir leis an dream seo na rudai ceanna beagnach a dheanamh leis na daoine ata faoi (a) thuas. Chomh maith leis sin, ba choir do ndeanfar socru le Conradh na Gaeilge ranganna comhra a eagraj, ionas go mbeadh snas ar Ghaeilge na ndaoine sa ghrupa seo, agus go mbeadh siad ar aon-chaighdean leis na daoine sa chead ghrupa.

(c) Daoine ar bheagan Ghaeilge: Ba choir go mbeadh bun rang eagraithe don ghrupa seo, agus is feidir leis an dream seo obair a dheanamh ar son na Gaeilge tre'n bhFainne Daite a caitheamh, agus an beagan Gaeilge ata acu a usaid.

Moltar do each beagan Gaeilge a labhairt le gach einne (is fearr Gaeilge bhriste na Bearla blasta) go mhor in-

aiteanna poibli mar siopa, bancanna, oifigi, monarchana, agus mar sin de. Chomh maith leis sin, ba choir duinn chomhoibriú le gluaiseacht na Gaeilge, go hairithe le Conradh na Gaeilge, aon uair ata imeachtaí poibli ar siul acu; mar shampla, bailiuchan naisiunta na Gaeilge, mor shiulanna, agus rudai eile den tsort.

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"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." — declaration issued by A. J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary in November 1917, on behalf of the British Government. Britain was soon in a position to make this declaration a reality having been given a mandate over Palestine after the end of the first World War by the newly formed League of Nations, predecessor of UNO.

What of the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities mentioned in the Balfour Declaration? In a memorandum to his Government in August, 1919, Mr. Balfour stated: "In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country . . . The four great powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that land".

Thus began the shameful conspiracy of the Imperialist powers and the Zionists which led to the establishment of the theocratic and semi-fascist "State of Israel" in what was Arab Palestine for more than 13 centuries. With the connivance of the British Mandate Administration the Zionist organisations went all out to start large-scale immigration of Jewish people into Palestine from Germany and from East European countries. As a result the number of Jewish people in Palestine increased from around 50,000 during the first World War to more than 460,000 by the start of the second World War and by 1948 it was more than 600,000. The Arab population at this time had reached 1,200,000.

The Arabs naturally, resisted this invasion of their land by the foreigners from Europe. They realised that the "Jewish Homeland" was to be established at their expense. The Zionists however, had no intention of allowing the Arab population to spoil their plans. Jewish commando units were set up, many with the assistance of British military experts, and terror campaigns were launched against the Arab population directed by Hagana, the central control of the commando groups.

Other notable Zionist military groups were the Stern Gang and the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Menachim Beigin, once prominent in the Irgun organisation, is now leader of the neo-fascist Herut party in Israel and in June 1967 was given a cabinet post in the Eshkol government. On April 9th, 1948, which was before the fighting between the Arab states and Israel had broken out, members of the Irgun Zvai Leumi attacked the Arab village of Deir Yasin and slaughtered more than 250 villagers, many of them women and children. Menachim Beigin said "the slaughter was well justified; without the victory at Deir Yasin the state of Israel would not be there".

The attacks by the Zionist military groups forced many Arab people to flee from their homes leaving their land and property behind. More than 75,000 homes and 350 villages were abandoned. According to UN

palestine

figures 900,000 Arab refugees had fled from Palestine before May 14th, 1948, which was before Israel was established. This refutes the Zionist lie that the refugee problem was caused by the fighting which later broke out between the Arab States and the newly established Israel. The fighting however, gave the Zionists the excuse for driving still more Palestine Arabs from their homes and also an opportunity to seize more territory than was allotted to the Jewish state by the UN partition plan of 1947.

The UN plan allowed for the establishment of a Jewish State and an Arab state in Palestine and territory was allocated to one or the other according to the areas of main settlement, of each population. No state was ever established for the Arab population as can be seen from the maps. The "Jewish homeland" grabbed two-thirds of the territory of the former British Mandate of Palestine.

Since the establishment of the Zionist state 21 years ago its leaders have consistently aligned themselves with Imperialist conspiracies against the Arab people such as the Anglo-French attack on Egypt in 1956 which the Israeli forces joined by occupying the Sinai peninsula. This policy is detrimental to the real interests of the people of Israel. It has increased resentment amongst the Palestine Arabs and in other Arab States against the presence of Jewish people in the area and made it more difficult to achieve a peaceful solution.

An oft forgotten fact is that the Palestine Arabs are not citizens of Egypt, Jordan or Syria, or any other Arab country for that matter. Palestine is their homeland and under the UN charter they have rights equal to those of every other nation. The denial of these rights by the Zionists is the main cause of the present troubles in the Middle East.

The 1967 "June War" fought, ostensibly, to gain "secure frontiers" for Israel has turned out badly for the Zionists. The new "frontiers" are even less secure than the old. Israel is in the unenviable position of a colonial power with a hostile population of almost a million Arabs on the West Bank of the Jordan. The resistance of the West Bank population has come as a surprise to the occupying forces. Despite curfews, martial law, arrests and all the trappings of military occupation the Palestinian people have held fast to their homes and have no intention of allowing the Israelis to push them across the Jordan.

The Israelis made a special effort to capture Jerusalem, long a target on their list for expansion. According to the decision of the United Nations in 1947, when it discussed the fate of Palestine, Jerusalem was to be an independent administrative unit with a special international status. After the war of 1948-49, it was divided into two parts: the so-called Old City became Jordanian and the other part Israeli. In June 1967, the aggressors seized the Jordanian part of Jerusalem and later the Israeli Parliament passed a bill on its annexation in defiance of the resolutions

adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Fifth Emergency U.N. General Assembly on July 4 and 14, calling on Israel to abstain from annexing the Arab part of Jerusalem. There are 65,000 Arabs there and the occupation authorities are doing everything in their power to evict them from their homes.

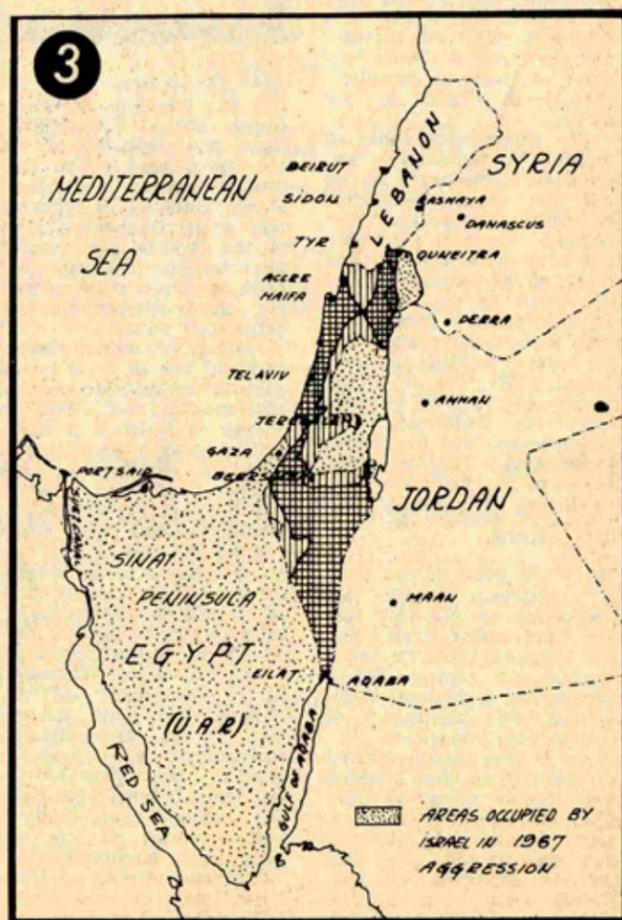
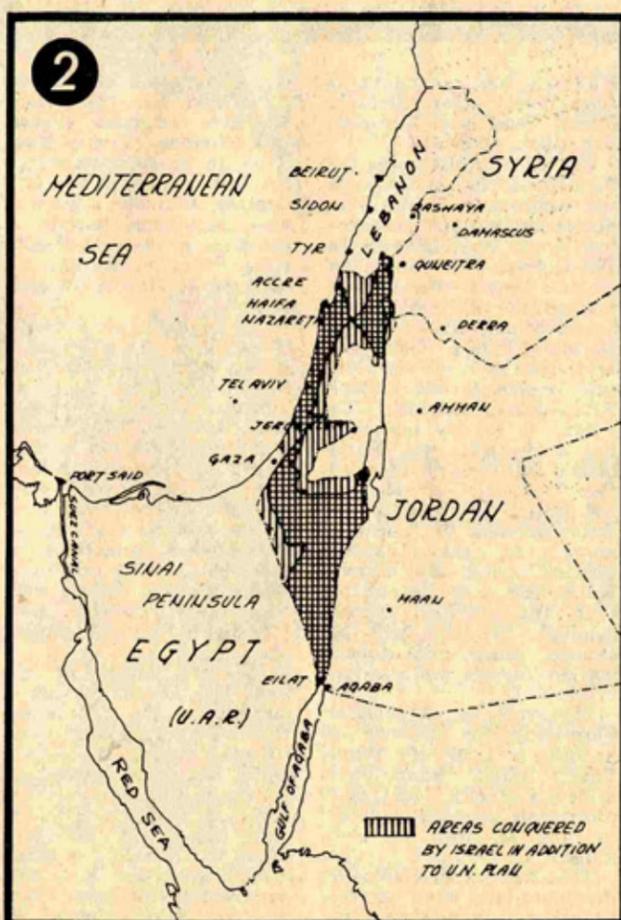
Apart from these Jordanian territories, the Israelis also seized parts of Syria and Egypt. From Syria they grabbed the Golan Heights area which occupies 1,000 square kilometres and is sparsely populated. What makes it important is its immediate vicinity to Damascus, as a result of which the Syrian capital is vulnerable to long-range artillery. Moreover, it is through this area that the ARAMCO oil pipeline, linking Dharhan in Saudi Arabia with the Lebanese port of Said, runs. By seizing the Golan Heights, Israel gained control over the upper reaches of the River Jordan, whose waters had long been an object of dispute between Tel Aviv and the Arab states.

The Sinai Peninsula was occupied by the Israelis before, in 1956, but, on that occasion the U.N. forced an Israeli withdrawal by economic sanctions.

In area (56,000 square kilometres), this Egyptian territory is almost twice as big as Israel itself (21,000 square kilometres). Most of the peninsula is a rocky plateau. Its population is about 70,000. It is vitally important for the U.A.R. because of its oil deposits, which produced before the aggression about 4.5 million tons of oil. According to foreign press reports, the occupation authorities have already resumed the exploitation of the oil-fields. There are also rich deposits of manganese ore on the peninsula.

Another Egyptian territory occupied by Israel is the Gaza Strip, bordering on the Sinai Peninsula, a small (258 square kilometres) but densely populated and agriculturally developed strip along the Mediterranean coast. Its population before June 5, 1967, was 455,000, of whom 315,000 were Palestinian refugees from the areas occupied by Israel in 1948-1949.

After the Palestinian war of 1948-1949, control over the Gaza Strip passed to Egypt and following the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression of 1956, Egypt agreed to the stationing of an international U.N. force in the Gaza area. It was deployed along the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line and remained there until the aggravation of the Middle East situation in the spring of 1967. (To be concluded)



** NOTES & COMMENTS

NOTHING amazes me more than the gullibility of some people who should know better — especially when it comes to giving credence to the utterances of Ministers of State, so-called leaders of industry and society and others of that ilk. You will recall, I am sure, the brouhaha caused by Charlie "Boy" Haughey's "crisis" telecast some time ago and the equally amazing reaction a few short weeks later when the bould Charlie revealed that there was no financial crisis at all and that he had never mentioned the word. With such twists of terminology and downright dishonesty do our politicians mislead the people. To what purpose? Their own devious ends, of course.

BLATANT BUDGET

FOR you will also note that Charlie's hot denial of financial instability was closely followed by as blatant a political budget as ever was laid before the Dail. A few bob for everyone, just to make them all happy for the inevitable general election which must follow such a blatant piece of political manoeuvring.

But let me utter a wee word of warning. Beware the ides of October, when the chill winds of another "crisis" will blow across the land and Charlie will utter further words of dire catastrophe unless we tighten our belts, live within our means, make the usual sacrifices, cut down on luxury spending and do all the things the ordinary taxpayer is expected to do—but not, mind you, the ordinary politician and, more particularly, the extraordinary Minister.

What price the much publicised voluntary cut in Ministers' salaries announced by Sweet Jack Lynch some months ago and due to take effect later this year. Fifteen per cent, wasn't it? 'Tis easy for them cut their salaries by fifteen per cent when they had shortly before increased them by over 60 per cent. Commendable example, how are ye!

F.G. "GESTURE"

AND what ever happened to the Fine Gael proposal to make a similar cut in their salaries as a "gesture"? They should have their heads examined — are they politicians at all? Imagine the Fine Gael boys handing over their few hundred quid to save the country from rack and ruin—just for the sake of showing Fianna Fail that they were all in this together and that they too were capable of making sacrifices. Who do they think they are fooling?

The whole thing stinks so highly of chicanery and political tomfoolery that no one, but no one, was even marginally impressed or coddled. In short the entire bag of tricks exploded in the faces of all concerned and the result in the minds of the general public was even more unfavourable than the same politicians at first feared. Which is all to the good—as it showed up once more the shallowness, the hypocrisy and the callous indifference of our misrulers to the feelings of the intelligent Irish people.

T.E. AGAIN

A FEW more of the same intelligent people are awakening to the fact that far from easing itself from the strictures of State interference and control, Telefis Eireann more and more is becoming an instrument of Fianna Fail propaganda.

As I have prognosticated on more than one occasion here trouble is brewing again and again within the airy-fairy confines of Montrose and we should soon see another explosion of justifiable wrath from the few honest people who still work there. Questions are still being

asked about that abortive visit to Biafra, about the completed programme on the Special Branch and about several other projected items on matters of public interest and undisputed controversy which have never seen the light of day at Montrose.

The latest outburst of justifiable disgust by the journalists in T.E. concerned the "uncoverage" of the visit of General de Gaulle to Ireland for that holiday of his. Incidentally didn't Jack Lynch take a "secret" holiday recently also. Look what happened to the General. Can we hope for similar consequences in the case of Lynch?

WHAT ARMY?

I was vastly amused at the time of the last Six County disturbances to read the stupid suggestions of some moth-eaten politicians that a joint Irish-British force of troops should patrol troubled areas in the North.

According to figures disclosed in reply to queries in the Dail some few weeks ago

cattle-dealer Mick Hilliard, who also happens to be Minister for Defence (just another quaint Irish custom, dear foreign reader) there was on January 31, 1969, a total of 8,076 non-commissioned officers and privates in the Irish Defence Forces (bless the mark). He also disclosed that there were 1,099 officers and 67 cadets (would-be officers).

In other words, we have more than one officer for every eight men in the army—not to mention the numberless civilians employed in the Department of Defence. Take away the 600 or 700 troops serving in Cyprus probably the only able-bodied men in the entire force, delete the old crocks and the desk-bound boys and how many have we left? Hardly enough to make up a decent patrol to send into Derry, for instance.

And then they talk about a joint Irish-British force to patrol the danger spots of the North. I'm almost busting me pips with laughing.

MAC DARA



● Brigadier Blayney reviews the troops. Before going North perhaps?

** NORTHERN LETTER



● Paisley supporters prepare to ambush the Civil Rights marchers at Burntollet, scene of the most vicious attacks ever on a Civil Rights demonstration.

O'Neill has gone and a kinsman, Major Chichester-Clarke, another of the landed gentry, has taken his place. For Republicans and for those involved in the Six County civil rights agitation what sort of a man is he of the hyphenated name and what can be expected from him?

Well, he is 46, and like cousin Terry, an old Etonian and former Irish Guardsman. As Unionist representative for South Derry at Stormont since 1959 he has, at various times, held the posts of Chief Whip, Leader of the House and for two years previous to becoming Prime Minister was Minister of Agriculture. His brother Robin, is a Unionist M. P. at Westminster and indeed, the O'Neill, Chichester-Clarke and Clark connections have, since the setting up of Partition, managed to do extremely well out of the political set up.

Bernadette Devlin gave him

a run for his seat during the February election and it was only during the following weeks did rumours regarding his possible accession as Premier begin to harden. Brian Faulkner seemed the obvious choice but he had too much of the 'hardliner' image to be fully acceptable to Westminster and Chichester-Clarke was elected by a majority of one!

He has since proved himself to be a shrewd and adroit politician; much more so than Captain O'Neill and thus much more dangerous to anyone seeking change within the Northern political structure. His first major act (no pun intended) was his so-called amnesty, an amnesty which saved the R.U.C. and the Unionist Party being further exposed in all their hypocrisy and yet was designed to give the impression that the new P.M. was of liberal disposition. This of course, is a fallacy.

If the court cases involving civil rights had been allowed to go through the courts enough evidence would have been produced to show deliberate perjury by policemen, both individually and collectively, from District Inspectors to constables on the beat to completely discredit them. Enough evidence would have been produced to show collusion between the police, certain members of the Government and the thugs of Paisley and Bunting. This could never be allowed.

Bunting and Paisley both are now free and all those charged with having arms — everyone a Unionist supporter — are again at large. The most any Civil Rights supporter could have been hit with was a fine; their opponents, on the other hand, could have been charged, with attempted murder. The Burntollet ambushers have got off Scot-free and the R.U.C. brutes of the Bogside.

UNIONIST GIFTS

We then had the one-man-one-vote issue and its promise of being granted. But to qualify this with the Unionist backwoodsmen in Fermanagh, Chichester-Clarke made a visit to the Erne country to explain why this had to be brought in.

His meeting was behind closed doors, the press and television being excluded. Why? Was it because he had to give assurances to such as John Brooke and John Taylor that no matter how many anti-Unionist voters there were west of the Bann the old ascendancy would always hold sway? Otherwise how could he obtain the publicised unanimous vote of confidence accorded him?

Of course, both Brooke and Taylor are now members

of the Stormont Cabinet along with a cohort of theirs, John Dobson of West Down. They will see that there is little deviation from traditional Unionist policies. Brooke, son of the notorious Basil, is on record as stating that one-man-one-vote would be granted 'over my dead body'. Paisley has told his followers that Chichester-Clarke can be trusted and people with sense know the type of people Paisley trusts.

I feel that the Civil Rights movement is in for a sticky time. The promise of the universal franchise in local government and the extra powers given to the Ombudsman at the same level has already taken some of the steam out of them. These two items were of course among those being agitated for and must be welcomed for that reason. But beware of Unionist gifts!

THE COUSIN

Cousin Terry has somewhat blotted his copybook by remarks made to audiences in the States and Canada. His advice to give houses and jobs to Roman Catholics and they would live like Protestants is not only stupid, but a mark of his ingrained bigotry. What now for those Castle Catholics who saw the bold Captain as the liberal saviour? For months I have been declaiming his treachery and I feel his successor will be the same. The people of means, the landed gentry, will never give up their possessions without a struggle.

RELIGION AND FEAR

But the Northern problem is more complex. It is not completely a class struggle; it is not singularly a religious divide. It is a mixture of both. People with a strong religious belief will often accept the crumbs from the better off so long as their particular beliefs are protected. Likewise in Irish nationalism we have had such as Tone, Emmet, Mitchell, through to Pearse and many of his comrades who preferred to risk their lives rather than accept a possibly better paid and better off position under English overlords.

Fear of the unknown is, I believe, the principle obstacle to Irish unity. Whilst the 26 County Constitution still gives special place to the Roman Catholic church and social services are kept lower than ours, the Northern Protestant will hesitate to enter an all-Ireland Republic. I believe in the rights of all people to worship as they please and until the Dublin Government writes that into their constitution the non-Catholic Northerner will not willingly make Ireland a nation.

Frank Hegarty.

** CLUB na bPOBLACHTÁNACH

At the present stage, the role of students is an educational one in that policies, ideas and attitudes of the Movement need to be critically examined and theoretical guidelines be rendered relevant to the practical state of the struggle for genuine freedom. The University Republican Clubs must consolidate their positions and evangelise their views.

Anois ar theacht an tSamhraidh ní abhaile a bhéas an chuid is mó de mhic léinn na hÉireann ag dul, ach go Sasana nó Meiriceá le haghaidh airgead a bhailiú. Tá's againn go léir go bhfuil bóithre Londan pábháilte le hór agus is ag tochailt na mbóithre céanna i gcóir airgid a bhéas siad. Ach, tá áiteachaf atá níos measa ná na bóithre; na monarchain cannála glasraí. Bíonn na comhluchtaí o Wisbech etc., ag iarraidh saor-oibrítheoirí no leath sclábhaithe i rith na bliana. Tuarastail ísle a thairgíonn siad ach glachtar leo agus déantar obair ar rátaí neamh-cheardchumannach mar gheall ar aineolas agus géar-ghá na mac léinn. Is sampla eile e seo den exploitation a fhuilaingeann muintir na tíre seo faoin gcóras impireachta.

Cloisimid, freisin, o Chumann na bPoblachtánach, TCD, go bhfuil na daoine seo a leanas tofa mar oifigh don

bhlian nua; Diarmuid Ó Dochartaigh, Fear Manach, Rúnaí, Seán Mac Gréagóir, Áth Cliath, Císdeoir.

One of the tasks facing the Republican Club in Trinity is the combatting of the ever decreasing, but still dominating, Anglo Irish influence in the College. The climax of this "Anglo Irishry" is reached at the end of the Summer term when what is termed "Trinity Week" is held. "Trinity Week" involves such events as the College Races (when "President" De Valera is "warmly applauded by students"), the Elizabethan Society's "Garden Party" (where strawberries and cream are eaten to the accompaniment of "chamber music" in the "Fellows Garden"), and the Trinity Ball (where, according to the Irish Times T.C.D. Correspondent, "a chap will be lucky to escape without paying £10 for the nights entertainment").

This year the Republican Club took the initiative in holding a kind of "Anti-Trinity Week" which they named "Connolly Week". In a programme issued as a guide to their activities the club stated:

"The Republican Club feels that the last week of the Universities term should be devoted to more serious

topics than Garden Parties; Races etc. For this reason we have arranged alternative activities. Trinity Week is — an anachronism which has little reality in the 20th Century. Connolly was a man who contributed greatly to the cause of the Irish People. It is fitting to rename the week 19/26 May as Connolly Week".

On Monday of Connolly Week there was a free film show with the Gael Linn films "Mise Eire", and "An Tine Beo". On the following day a teach on "The North" was held and guest speaker was Tom Mitchell. A ceili was held on the Friday night in opposition to "Trinity Ball" to conclude the weeks events. The College Authorities refused to allow the ceili to be held inside the College walls and the organisers were forced to hold it in an outside venue.

Another feature of the week was the participation of members of the club in the Dublin Housing Action Committee's protest outside the R.D.S. Housing Convention. It was, fittingly enough, a leading member of the Trinity club who interrupted Jack Lynch in the beginning of his speech, and who was later described in the Irish Times as, "a young gentleman" — Trinity still breeds them!



— WHAT NEXT ?

Where does the Civil Rights Movement go next? What happens now in the North? With O'Neill moving over for his cousin, Chichester-Clarke, what is the future for Ulster Unionism?

At present the Civil Rights Movement has momentarily paused. It is proper and inevitable that there should be some stocktaking after the hectic pace of events following October last. People wonder if Chichester-Clark will keep his promises on reform.

Of course many in the Civil Rights Movement, Republicans in particular, know well that he won't. Well then, let him expose himself for the hypocrite he is. Self-exposure takes time, but it is necessary before a politician can lose the support he has got. All the signs are that the Squire of Castledawson is totally a prisoner of the right-wing Orange Unionists. How then can he implement the reforms which brought down O'Neill. Give Chichester Clarke a month or so and then the Civil Rights Movement will need to apply the pressure again.

Terence O'Neill certainly let the cat out of the bag on that American trip of his. He showed the prejudice behind the Etonian liberal mask with his talk of Catholics breeding 18 children. More important he gave Britain's political game away when

he said that the bigotry and discrimination of the North were major obstacles in the way of linking the **Twenty Six Counties**, as well as the North, in some form of political union with Britain.

O'Neill has all along been Britain's man and there he was in America, speaking the truth for once. The "United Irishman" and other voices have warned several times over the past year that this is really what Britain wants these days — a political arrangement with a liberalized Unionist Party and a neo-Unionist Fianna Fail to restore the old United Kingdom. This was what Eddie MacAteer — whose departure Terence was so sorry about — meant when he called for "a little United Nations of these islands" last October. This is what Fianna Fail are helping to arrange with the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Brian Lenihan was sighing for this when he told the Scots and the Welsh to be glad they were still in the U.K.

Three years ago the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society warned that the sell-out by Fianna Fail to Britain in the South would make the old Orange Unionist policy of discrimination no longer suitable to Britain's book. The Orange Ascendancy would become an obstacle to Britain's aim of linking the Twenty Six Counties again with the U.K. This was the reason for the pressure on O'Neill to liberalise Ulster Unionism, and in his U.S. Radio speech O'Neill lamented his failure.

Britain's present policy towards Ireland, North and South, is difficult and not working out for her very well. If nationally minded people, Republicans and Socialists, remain united and disciplined, they will be in a very strong position to make Britain's current difficulties into Ireland's opportunity once again.

Republicans, and those who will work with the Republicans, need to be to the fore and in the lead of the Civil Rights Movement, therefore, to maintain its discipline and give it proper leadership. Repub-

licans must be the foremost advocates of unity in the Civil Rights Movement. They must strongly oppose therefore those who call for a split in the Civil Rights Movement in the spurious belief that in this way the working-class Catholics and Protestants will get together for "socialist" and "non-sectarian" demands.

Those few members of the People's Democracy in particular who think like this show themselves ignorant both of the Protestants, the working class and of what is necessary in order to achieve socialism in Ireland. Socialist demands should never be counterposed to democratic, civil rights, demands. The one requires the other. Winning civil rights, freedom of assembly, freedom to sell the "United Irishman" and organise Republican Clubs, control of local government bodies in non-Unionist areas, ending discrimination—all these would be tremendous gains for those who want a Socialist Republic in a 32-County Ireland, and help considerably to bring nearer that goal.

Possibly the greatest achievement of the Civil Rights Movement to date has been to establish some sort of unity among the Catholics. After 40 years of division into a multiplicity of parties the Catholics in the North have got together at last to demand their rights. Those who talk of splitting this unity should be dealt with as the wreckers they are. The posturing of Messrs McDowell, McCann and McAonghusa at Newry, with the talk of two Governments—two no less!—in the North, one in Catholic areas and one in Protestant, will be repudiated by all decent Irish people who are not intoxicated with their own political fantasies.

Certainly the Civil Rights programme is a reformist one. All the more reason, therefore, for the revolutionaries to be *in the lead — for reforms*. For it is only if the revolutionaries lead a reformist movement that there can be a guarantee that reforms will not be betrayed and that when they are gained the mass of the movement will still go forward for further progressive change. The Republicans and their allies are the real people who want to go forward to the finish in the North; but the way forward is not

to wreck the hard-built unity of the Civil Rights Movement.

If unity is the first essential the second is to direct the civil rights demands at the place where real responsibility lies — at Westminster and the British Government. For everything that happens in the North is entirely Britain's responsibility as long as she keeps the area part of the United Kingdom. This is one of the fundamentals of Republican belief.

If this is so, then one may well ask why isn't Westminster being put more on the spot regarding the North? A political innocent must recognise that no genuine reforms will come from the bigoted Unionist politicians in Stormont. What reforms are squeezed from them will be in response to the Civil Rights pressure, embarrassing them vis-a-vis Britain.

Westminster could legislate for every one of the civil rights demands by passing an amendment to the Government of Ireland Act, the Constitution of the North, at Westminster to-morrow. And the Unionists would have no alternative but to obey.

Why then isn't Britain doing this? Because she is not being pressed hard enough. That is why the Civil Rights Movement needs to concentrate much more of its fire on the real villain of the piece, the Westminster Parliament and British Government, rather than on villains tool and servant, the Orange Unionist clique at Stormont.

The Irish in Britain are in a tremendous position to back up the Civil Rights demands by putting pressure on Westminster M.P.s, harrying them at every hour of the day or night until they wish in their hearts they were rid of the Six Counties. There are 1 million first generation Irish-born living in Britain at the moment. Their support for the Civil Rights demands is needed now as never before.

By co-ordinating their efforts, the Movement at home and in Britain can make it more and more unrewarding for the British to refuse civil rights in the North. Otherwise she should be told to clear out of the area and let the Irish people run their own country for themselves.

In the "Workers Republic" of August 5th 1899, Connolly, in discussing the need of every age to produce its own revolutionary philosophy, wrote with reference to Wolfe Tone:

"We are told to imitate Wolfe Tone, but the greatness of Wolfe Tone lay in the fact that he imitated nobody. The needs of the time called for a man able to shake from off his mind the intellectual fetters of the past, and to unite in his own person the hopes of the new revolutionary faith and the ancient aspirations of an oppressed people".

As Tone drew his inspiration from the French Revolution of 1789 and his ideology from the revolutionary writers of the period such as Thomas Paine, so Connolly drew his inspiration from the uprising of the Paris Commune of 1872 and his ideology from Marx and Engels. Connolly, because he was a scientific socialist, saw no inconsistency in the absorption of the newer revolutionary ideas in the mainstream of the republican revolutionary tradition.

The relationship of the social revolutionary philosophy of Connolly to that of Tone is thus analogous to the relationship between Albert Einstein's theory of the universe in the field of physics to that of Isaac Newton. Einstein's physics would not have been possible without that of Newton but it is nevertheless qualitatively different from it.

Connolly in putting forward his revolutionary philosophy met with tremendous opposition in his day, not only from the capitalist class, native and foreign, and its ideologists such as Arthur Griffith and from the Catholic Church but also during the pre 1914-18 World War period from many Republicans because of his disagreement with the use of physical force during time of peace (Workers Republic, July 2, 1899), and because he advocated the alternative that revolutionary socialists should take their seats in the English House of Commons and use this body as a spring-board for revolution Shan Van Vocht, August, 1897).

There were explosions in centres other than London. On March 22nd, 1939, an explosion blew up a car in Princess Rd., Birmingham, tearing a hole in the roadway and damaging nearby houses. Almost simultaneously an explosion occurred in a house at the same spot, setting it on fire. The next morning Coventry was shaken by a number of large explosions designed to disrupt the city's telephone and electrical systems. Bombs exploding at various points tore up pavements, shattered windows and damaged houses for hundreds of yards around. At Quinton Rd., a telephone junction was destroyed, while a further explosion at a main electricity transformer fractured a gas main, and turned the district into a bizarre inferno with flames shooting up to considerable heights from manholes and drain-taps. A further explosion at Barras Lane electricity junction blew a manhole across the road and through the roof of a presbytery.

On March 30th. an explosion at 12, Trafalgar Rd. Mosely, Birmingham, severely shook surrounding houses and caused a man to die of a heart attack. Two I.R.A. men, Gerry Dunlop and Pat McAleer of Belfast were arrested in connection with this explosion and received 20 years for conspiracy. In Coventry on the same date a petrol storage tank was bombed, and a whole series of explosions occurred in Liverpool's fashionable shopping centre Bold St. In this latter operation the bombs were actually being placed at the bottom of the street while the police were investigating explosions at the top. A young man who took part in this daring operation was after wards sentenced to death by the Free State Special Military Court, but was fortunately reprieved.

April opened with a flurry of explosions, but first let us recount some of the personal adventures of those who survived the first wave of arrests, to carry on the campaign for a 32 County Republic. Among those

Connolly in fact during his lifetime had to fight on many fronts in order that those avowedly committed to national freedom should have clarity of thought on the problems involved. In "Labour Nationality and Religion" he defended Marxism against the attacks of the Church and therein from this standpoint refuted the Papal encyclical "Rerum Novarum". In "Labour in Irish History" he analysed Irish History on the basis of the historical materialism of Marx and showed thereby that the history taught in the history books was false and was intended to be such in order to emasculate its revolutionary content.

This form of emasculation has continued to our day and has in particular been directed to the purpose of preventing Connolly's works being known and being

read by the people of Ireland. Thus the history books in the schools have not changed much in content, beyond being brought up to date, since Connolly's day. Connolly of course has taken his place amongst the national heroes such as Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet but like the latter only to have his revolutionary ideas ignored, emasculated, or misrepresented.

Thus despite the efforts which have been made to up-date the republican movement in its philosophy over the past four or five years it is still possible to find those within it who vehemently assert that Connolly was not a Marxist.

The Irish history books similarly write-off Tone's Jacobinism. The distortion is completed by the presentation of the 1789 French Revolution from which Tone drew his inspiration, in the Secondary school

The I.R.A. story

spring bombing flurry

soldiers of the I.R.A. and Cumann na mBan who posted up the declaration of war and planted the first bombs in Liverpool were Rita McSweeney, Una Walsh, Kitty Carroll, Maire and Rose Sweeney of Ballycroy Co. Mayo, Mairtin Standun, Tommy Hunt, (afterwards condemned to death by the Special Military Court), Sean and Pat Hannon, Charlie Dineen, Tommy McDermott, Leo Morgan, Peadar Dowley, Seamus Murphy and Thomas McDonough Byrne, grandson of Peter Murphy, the veteran Fenian proprietor of the 98 shop in Scotland Rd. There were many others. The Liverpool Unit was not as badly hit by arrests as those of London, Birmingham,

and Manchester, but the chief suspects were constantly watched night and day, there being sometimes as many as six detectives at arms length behind one another following the same person. Wherever republicans gathered for a private hooley or at the classes and ceilidhthe of the Gaelic League, the concourse of squad cars resembled a miniature rally.

It became almost a point of honour for republicans to outwit their trailers, suddenly cycling up alley-ways too narrow for cars to follow; jumping on and off tramcars in motion, and by split second timing passing and placing bombs under the very noses of

religious doctrine text "An Outline History of the Catholic Church" by the English Monarchist priest Rev. R. F. Walker, as being the result of the 'Orleans Masonic Plot' rather than as representing an advance by the human race to fuller and more purposeful existence.

During the 1950's this distortion of facts was particularly intensive and a whole generation grew up completely inculcated from revolutionary social and scientific ideas except in the distorted forms so presented, for example, in Kavanagh's 'Manual of Social ethics' or in 'Apologetics and Catholic Doctrine' by Michael Sheehan D. D. The latter, in particular, in discussing the theory of biological evolution, had much in common with the doctrines of the Jehovahs Witnesses or the biblical fundamentalism of Ian Paisley.

Was it any wonder then that MacCarthyism was rampant during this period when not only those of the left-wing of politics were persecuted and driven, preferentially to others, into exile by the combined activities of the Special Branch and religious fanatics, but also republicans were imprisoned and the campaign in the north sabotaged by Fine Gael and Fianna Fail.

With "all pity choked with custom of fell deeds" the emigration of more than 50,000 persons per year was mutely accepted by mothers, wives and sweethearts, as they saw their sons, husbands and lovers depart, as Gods will directed to the conversion of England to Catholicism or in Knight of Columbanus terminology to the restoration of 'Mary's dowry'. Archbishop Godfrey Primate of England similarly welcomed Ireland's difficulty as England's opportunity.

To those adherents to the principles of Socialism and Nationalism who, in this Decade of Discrimination, which we may term the 1950's, suffered persecution for justice sake, whilst being accused of seeking to gain the world by selling their souls because they preached the Marxist doctrine of the conquest of the environment through work and struggle, and the necessity of maintaining in Lenin's words "moral supremacy", it was indeed gratifying that recent encyclicals of Popes John and Paul should canonise their efforts by reaffirming as good Christianity the principles enunciated in Connolly's "Labour, Nationality and Religion".

the police. Mairtin Standun, who worked in one of Irwin's grocery shops, was so closely watched, that he had to leave and get work on the docks, where he would have more freedom of action. Here, much to his surprise, his fellow workers, even those of English blood, were eager to help him by keeping a watch on the movements of the detectives.

Seosamh O'Diubheagain O.C. of the Liverpool Unit and one of the cleverest and most effective I.R.A. officers in England has written a most interesting account in Irish of his own experiences. He lasted longer than the others, and when finally deported, in August his place was taken by Mairtin Standun, until he too was deported, with his mother and sisters; but these things were still in the future. Other active workers were Vincent Crompton, an Englishman who joined the I.R.A. and a young Irish girl, Margaret McDonnell.

Rita McSweeney belonged to a staunch republican family from Dungarvan, Co. Waterford. Her father was a merchant tailor in Liverpool and her brother Joe, had been O.C. of the only slua of Fianna Eir-eann at that time in Britain, Rita was one of the chief transport officers of the I.R.A. campaign. She had control of one of the largest explosives dumps in Liverpool, in a house which she had obtained in Canning St. She also travelled to Dublin to establish contacts and arrange supply lines. Bob Foley who worked on the B. and I. boats brought over supplies, meeting Rita in all sorts of unlikely places, including churches. Another supply line for which Rita was responsible was operated by Terence McSherry who brought explosives from Glasgow. These came from Ireland through Ardrossan and from the proceeds of raids on Scottish quarries and military magazines. McSherry was captured and sentenced at the Falkirk Assizes in February to 10 years penal servitude for conspiracy to steal explosive substances and possession of explosives.

Citizens for Civil Liberties was founded at a meeting in Dublin on 20th February, 1968. Its president is Peadar O'Donnell; chairman, Con Lehane; secretary, Rev. T. P. McCaughey; treasurer, Micheal O Loingsigh.

Last month we recorded this interview with CCL chairman, the Dublin solicitor and former Clann na Poblachta TD, Con Lehane:

UI: The Minister for Justice, Mr. Ó Móráin, recently described CCL as being 'fathered by Sinn Féin' and as a 'Sinn Féin front'. Can you tell us just what exactly is Citizens for Civil Liberties, and how it came to be founded?

Lehane: To describe Citizens for Civil Liberties as a 'Sinn Féin front' is a little much, even for Mr. Ó Móráin. CCL is, of course, as its name indicates, an organisation formed for the purpose of fighting infringements of civil liberties. Its origins can be traced to the concern of four people at the erosion of the people's liberties threatened by the Criminal Justice Bill. Those four people were: the late Jim Larkin; Father Austin Flannery, OP; the Rev. T. P. McCaughey, a Presbyterian minister; and John Horgan, the well-known journalist.

UI: Presumably you have a constitution.

Lehane: We have, and if you don't mind, I will expand somewhat on our objects as set out therein. These are: firstly, to protect the rights of freedom of assembly, of expression, and of association; secondly, to protect the individual citizen against any erosion of such civil liberties as he now has under the law; thirdly, to curb further inroads on the liberty of the individual by the executive or its law-enforcement agencies; and fourthly, to oppose all discrimination on grounds of race, religion, sex or politics.

UI: Just who, in fact, attended the meeting at which CCL was founded?

Lehane: Among those who attended the foundation meeting were members of the Labour Party, Conradh na Gaeilge, the trade union movement, clerics of different denominations, members of the legal profession, members of tenants' organisations, and members of the staff of both universities, many members of the public in their individual capacities, and members of Sinn Féin.

UI: There are two other civil liberties organisations already in existence in the 26 Counties: the National Civil Liberties League and the Irish Association of Civil Liberties. Why start another?

Lehane: The NAACL never seemed to have succeeded in making a very real impact. However, it has done some very good work in the past; particularly, I think of its part during the telephonists' strike. The IACL appeared to us to be almost moribund: its basis is rather academic. Basically, we did not think that it had been as active as it should have been in recent years in seeking to safeguard such civil liberties as we possess here.

UI: You seem to be rather sceptical: 'such civil liberties as we possess here'. Could you elaborate?

Lehane: Well, the Offences Against the State Act 1939 is still on the statute book, and this piece of legislation contains many sections which are restrictive of fundamental civil liberties. It contains, for example, sections permitting internment without trial, sections depriving people of the right to a trial before the ordinary courts, and many others restrictive of the right of association. Generally speaking, this Act is a police state measure.

UI: Apart from the 1939 Act, what infringements most concern you?

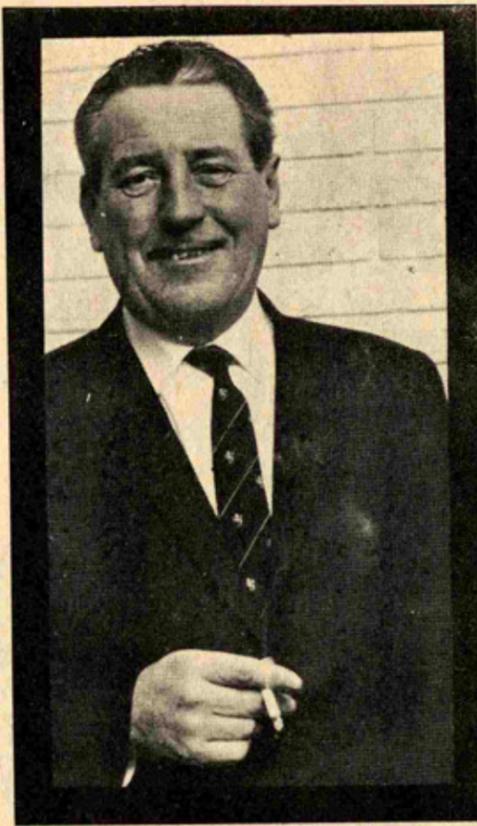
Lehane: The 1937 Constitution, particularly in relation to family law, is discriminatory against members of minority faiths. I am also particularly concerned about the sections of the Trade Union Bill which attack the right of an individual to withdraw his labour and which seek to place a curb, as the Bill does, on freedom of association.

UI: Could you give us an example of a frequent abuse of a citizen's liberty?

Lehane: Yes indeed. One that I often come across in Dublin is where an arrested man is not brought before the court as soon as possible after the arrest. On arrest, a citizen has a right to be brought before the court at the earliest possible opportunity. In a case I came across recently, people arrested at 10.30 in the morning were not brought before the court until four in the afternoon—a clear invasion of the rights of the citizen.

UI: How many branches of CCL are now in existence?

Lehane: Branches would not be the correct word: we would think rather in terms of liaison groups. To-



CITIZENS FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

date, such groups exist in Waterford, Wicklow, Sligo, Westmeath, Mayo and Galway.

UI: Coming to more particular aspects of civil liberties, can you advise anyone who has a complaint against a member of the police on how to go about registering it? Is it worth doing so at all?

Lehane: Most certainly it is worthwhile. Every incident should be brought out into the open. The most obvious thing to do, if you are in a position to do so, is to seek legal advice on the matter: contact your local solicitor immediately. Never sit down and do nothing if you believe your rights have been infringed.

UI: If arrested and put into a cell, what should one insist on?

Lehane: If arrested and placed in a cell—and most people are apt to forget this—you have an absolute right to demand that your solicitor be contacted immediately.

UI: If one is approached in the home, or in the street, with the remark, 'we would like you to come to the station and answer a few questions,' what is the correct attitude to adopt?

Lehane: Here it depends largely on the circumstances of the case, but there is no legal compulsion to go to the station and 'answer a few questions'.

UI: If a demand to search premises is made, what should one do?

Lehane: Insist that a proper search warrant be produced.

UI: What are the future plans of Citizens for Civil Liberties?

Lehane: We hope to produce a handbook in the autumn, setting out the rights of a citizen vis-a-vis the police, on the lines of the handbook produced by the Civil Liberties Council in England.

UI: What about the establishment of an advice bureau?

Lehane: That is being considered at the moment. Details regarding the staffing of such a bureau, and its mechanics present obvious difficulties which will have to be carefully considered.

UI: How exactly does one become a member of Citizens for Civil Liberties?

Lehane: People interested should contact the secretary, Rev. T. P. McCaughey, 158 Rathfarnham Road, Dublin 14. Membership is open to bona fide members of the public who accept our aims and agree to abide by them. They must also pay a nominal membership subscription of 5s.

UI: Finally, how would you advise people interested in forming a local group to go about it?

Lehane: First of all they ought to contact us. The affiliation should always, in our view, be with the central executive. We will supply copies of our constitution to bona fide applicants, on request, and we are always prepared to supply speakers, given reasonable notice. Above all, I would stress that we are neither an exclusive nor an elusive body. Cuirfimid fáilte roimh cách.

BODENSTOWN '69 (JUNE 22)



ORDER OF PARADE:

- 1) Advance guard, 20 (men only).
- 2) Colour party.
- 3) Cork Volunteer Pipe Band.
- 4) Connaught contingent.
- 5) Wolfe Tone Band.
- 6) Special unit.
- 7) Fianna girls.
- 8) Fianna boys.
- 9) Clanna Gael.
- 10) Narraghmore Band.
- 11) Leinster contingent.
- 12) Band.
- 13) Ulster contingent.
- 14) Fermoy Pipe Band.
- 15) Munster contingent.
- 16) Republican clubs (university).
- 17) Connolly Association.
- 18) Connolly Youth Movement.
- 19) Young socialists.
- 20) Trade unionists groups.
- 21) Sceim na Gceardcumann.
- 22) General public.

Speaker: T. Mac Giolla, Tipperary.
Chairman: Liam McWilliam, Belfast.

Train leaves Hueston Station 12.50. Return 6.30 p.m.
FARE: Adults 7/6; Children 3/6.

According to Mr. Colley, speaking in Leinster House on May 5th., the 26 county government is still committed to E.E.C. entry.

With the retirement of General de Gaulle speculation has begun again as to the future of the U.K. application. M. Gerard d'Estaing, a likely member of the new French government, has spoken in favour of a 'Britain only' move, excluding Ireland, Norway and Denmark. This has caused consternation among the Irish Common Marketeers.

Behind this proposal is the Common Market agricultural crisis. By having a price-support system which subsidises the product, thus favouring the large producers lavishly and generating a glut of produce, the E.E.C. has landed itself in political difficulties. It would like to wipe out its marginal farmers (the Mansholt Plan) and go over completely to a business-dominated industrialised agriculture. The marginal farmers however are militant and represent votes. An alternative scheme of *social* rather than economic subsidy (i.e. paying a family farm subsidy to favour the small producers,

There will be people who want to go back virtually to an Act of Union position

ROY JOHNSTON

as a hedge against the risks of a climate-dependent occupation, like the building-workers' 'wet-time') would damage the big agro-capitalists and would go against the principles of the monopolists who dominate the E.E.C. thing. So they have, at least for the present, to keep their protected agriculture and look for markets in which to dump the surplus. The obvious one is the British, where Ireland and Denmark and New Zealand are the traditional suppliers. The plan therefore is to get Britain in, which will please the British monopoly capitalists, enabling them to penetrate the European market, but to demand in return that the British market should be the preserve of E.E.C. agriculture.

Protected E.E.C. agricultural prices are running at something like *double* the world level to which the Irish are accustomed. There is clearly a bonanza here and there will be strong pressure from short-sighted people to join it, sacrificing our independence to the extent that is necessary. The traditional Fine Gael position will be strengthened: there will be people who want to go back virtually to an Act of Union position in order to benefit from the E.E.C. price structure, giving up as much of our existing limited independence as is necessary to persuade Britain actively to negotiate to bring in the whole of Ireland with her.

How long can this bonanza last? How long are the E.E.C. industrialists going to tolerate a high-price policy in agriculture?

Trade unionists must see that the E.E.C. is understood and opposed

ROY JOHNSTON

There are many analogies between the E.E.C. and nineteenth-century England: the enforced union embracing the Celtic fringe nations whose people were cleared to provide cheap labour, the laissez-faire economic thinking, the inadequacy of social benefits to compensate the dispossessed mobile labourers for the loss of home and family life. Those sensitive to the lessons of history will see a further possibility:

NEW EEC THREAT

the waking up of the industrial monopolists as to the economic advantage to them of, so to speak, 'repealing the Corn Laws'; in other words dropping agricultural protection in favour of cheap food imports, and selling the European farmers down the river. Where then our bonanza? Irish agriculture as it would have developed within the E.E.C. would then drop back to somewhere near the pre-bonanza level, while industry would have been sacrificed irreversibly—a Famine-like situation.

If, on the other hand, the 26 counties are excluded as a consequence of the greed of the E.E.C. big-business farmers to get their hands on the U.K. market, there would develop a situation something like in the 18th. century, when the Cattle Acts attempted to cripple Irish live-cattle exports. The response of Irish agriculture to this was

There must be no hesitation in bringing Britain and the other applicants into the Community

M. ALAIN POHER,
France's interim President.

to go into the provision trade, which gave rise to a prosperous period in Irish economic history (relatively speaking). The economic structure which would emerge, under conditions of exclusion from the E.E.C. would be export-oriented and based on the chilled container for which distance is no obstacle; this would then be able to adapt positively to the E.E.C. trade in the post-Corn-Law situation. In the meantime it would it would have to look for export contracts where it could outside the E.E.C.—this means Northern and Eastern Europe, the U.S.A., Japan, Africa.

The d'Estaing proposals will therefore do the Irish a service: it will separate the slave-minds from those who want independence, in no uncertain terms.

Immediate practical responses are possible. Trade unionists must see that the EEC is understood and opposed on the grounds that it will lead to high food prices and unemployment of workers in marginal industries. Farmers who are far-sighted enough to see that the price-bonanza is temporary and reversible at the whim of the foreign industrial monopolists must see that their own co-operatives get seriously into the container-based export business and look for long-term contracts with non-EEC markets. It is also necessary to demand that agricultural subsidy is made into a social and organisational rather than an economic subsidy. Fertiliser subsidy, grain price support etc. in their present form benefit the large producers primarily. What we need is for the same money to be given (a) in social security benefits, call it 'danger money' if you like, to all primary producers whose livelihood is dependent on the vagaries of the weather etc., unconditionally; i.e. they

don't feel that they will lose it if they start to produce. (b) to the co-operatives and to co-operative organisers so that a marketing and provisioning organisation can be built up under the control of the primary producers. Then let the market determine what is produced, taking due care to have enough planning know-how in the co-operative movement to give its members some guide what to plant.

However it is likely that short-term interests will prevail and that the EEC lobby

will be strong in the farmers organisations.

It must be fought tooth and nail at every opportunity.

On the cultural front it is necessary to spread a knowledge and understanding of the way in which the EEC is consistently suppressing the small nationalities, the most notorious case being the Bretons. The attitude of large centralised monopoly-dominated states (the UK, the US, the EEC) to their ethnic and linguistic groups is consistently that of the melting-pot to the mix. Instinctively we don't want this; however it must be studied and documented

We are the only party with realistic policies

JACK LYNCH'S
Election propaganda

and the arguments brought out on a rational basis. If ever there was a challenge to Irish culture this is it; it cannot survive defeat this time as it has so many times before.

EFFECT OF FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Garret Fitzgerald, writing in the Irish Times on May 7th, comparing the financial year 1967/8 with 1968/9, gives figures for the penetration of the Irish home market by imported goods. The figures are 22½% and 25½% respectively. This is the last year in which the Free Trade Area agreement will be beneficial; from now on the effect of the reducing tariffs will predominate over the effect of the opening of the UK market to textiles based on man-made fibres etc. We sold out for a mess of pottage in the Free Trade Agreement; the mess of pottage, believe it or not, is now consumed.

DEFINITE RUC-GARDA LINK

"Is it true that, as the United Irishman alleges, members of the Gardaí are doing a special course of crowd control, and that riot equipment had been purchased for the Gardaí?"

These two queries from the unofficial "Government Information Bureau", the Irish Press, were submitted to the official "Government Information Bureau" last month. They were answered thus; "the answer to the first part is no, and therefore the remainder of the query does not arise".

The first thing to notice is that the Bureau did not even attempt to answer the second question put to them. The second is that the answer to the first query is merely a play on words. From further information received last month we can confirm that members of the 26 Co. Police force are attending a special course of training. This training may not be officially called "training of riot squads" or, "a special course of crowd control," but it most certainly is in progress. All you have to do is ask the men's wives how much they have seen of their spouses lately.

Of course, there is collusion between 26 Co., 6 Co. and British police; ironically enough, evidence of this was provided in the very same Irish Press issue which purported to refute the U.I. article: "Representatives of the Garda Síochána will attend a conference in Belfast to-morrow and on Thursday of fingerprints and criminal record experts from police forces throughout the United Kingdom"—I.P. 6/5/69. How much closer can you get?

The whole history of extradition in this country reveals many instances of prisoners being bundled over the border by one force

into the waiting hands of their opposite numbers (this system was finally declared unconstitutional in Quinn v. Ryan, 1965).

However, as the Bureau is eager to burst into print, maybe it would "inform" us as to

- (1) Whatever happened to the police enquiry allegedly set up follow-

ing the Shelbourne Hotel picketeers arrest?

- (2) Was such an enquiry, in fact, ever held?
- (3) If a report from the enquiry is ever to be forthcoming—will it be published?

We doubt whether the Bureau will reply—it exists for one purpose—to hide Fianna Fail blunders and scandals so that the public will know only what is thought fit for them to know.



Tomás Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin, being "removed" by Gardaí at the Shelbourne Hotel.



REVIEWS

THE REBEL COUNTESS ON STAGE

Constance Markiewicz' centenary, which occurred last year, passed almost unnoticed, except for a memorable Aerfocht at the Sandyford cottage organised recently by the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society, at which Austin Clark read poetry, and songs were sung and a good time was had by all.

The redoubtable Connie has been remembered again, this time by Dorothy Robbie, an expatriate Welsh woman living in Greystones, who has written and produced a play called 'Ribbon with Gold' in collaboration with a local amateur group (St. Patrick's Players). Full houses in the Church of Ireland hall on three successive nights (April 10-12) indicated considerable local interest.

By the device of re-naming the characters Dorothy Robbie absolves herself from the need for strict historical accuracy in the interests of better drama. This is legitimate, though slightly irritating, as for example in the central scene of the play where Katherine Winstanley (Constance) first meets the 'national question' in the form of a rebel, Tighe, who comes to the Sandyford cottage 'on the run', though the time is pre-1914. Nonetheless, this confrontation, in which the native Irish rebel becomes convinced of the genuine nature of the

Ascendancy woman's rejection of her background, is a scene of some strength, which on the whole is convincing. Equally convincing is the sketch of her ascendancy childhood in the earlier scenes; the servant hierarchy, the governess with advanced ideas (played beautifully by Azalie Buttimore); in this there emerges the essentially feminist nature of her rebellion. She is from the same stable and of the same generation as the great militant suffragettes of the pre-1914 epoch. Less convincing is her life on the continent and her

marriage; her husband (Philip d'Esterre, played by Donald McLean) is barely sketched, leaving many questions unasked let alone answered. Nor are some of the later scenes well developed: the dumping of the guns from the Howth gun-running and the Rising itself verge on the melodramatic.

The two central figures, Katherine and Tighe (the latter an amalgam of revolutionary leaders with possibly Connolly predominating) were played by Shelagh Jones and James Kearon, both giving outstanding performances which made the play a memorable occasion.

Marie Comerford was present at one of the performances and said a few words, visibly moved, to the effect that Constance would have liked it if she had been there.

Occasions like this are of importance in the re-development of our national consciousness; characters like Constance Markiewicz form a bridge between the later and the earlier settler populations (most Irish after all are settlers from one century or another!).

The development of an annual commemoration event in Sligo for Constance Markiewicz would help make this bridge into a permanent structure, undermining the last traces of that gombeen catholic-sectarian nationalism that has for too long poisoned Irish political life, infecting slightly even the Republican tradition, and contributing to the alienation of one quarter of our population.

R. J.

Sean Cronin's long look at civil rights

Sean Cronin: *The Rights of Man in Ireland*. Muintir Wolfe Tone Atha Cliath, 2s. 6d.

The Rights of Man in Ireland is, to date, the most concise and well-written account of Six-County attitudes and problems available.

Sean Cronin — Ireland's best-known journalist-in-exile, and a former editor of the *United Irishman* — writes with authority and ease on such subjects as the Special Powers Act, the growth of Orangeism, denial of rights in the South, church/state relations in the 26 Counties; and he concludes his 32-page essay with a chapter putting everything in an international perspective: 'The World is Watching'.

Though he is primarily concerned with oppression in the Six Counties, Cronin's own social convictions emerge strongly when he turns to examine the 26-County state: 'Those who suffer the worst form of discrimination in both parts of Ireland are the poor.'

They are denied their rights from birth.

On the Special Powers Act, he draws from material from oft-forgotten and little-used sources—the British National Council for Civil Liberties and the Northern Ireland Society of Labour Lawyers—to remind readers that the following came from a 1936 report: 'Through the use of the Special Powers Act, the individual is no longer protected by law'.

To sum up *The Rights of Man in Ireland*, one can best use the phrase, 'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed'.

The striking cover design is by Tony O'Reilly.

RBL

NÍL FÁGTHA ACH AIRE GAELTACHTA

Peadar O Doirnín: *Amhrain Eagarthoir, Breandan O Buachalla. An Clochomhar Tta*; 10s.

Fear Gaeltachta ab ea Peadar O Doirnín, a fuair bas i nGaeltacht Lu/án Duin/Ard Macha/na Midhe, dha chead bliain o shoin. Fuair an Ghaeltacht sin bas sa chead seo, ar nos go leor ceantracha Gaeltachta eile, faoi thionchar Stormont agus Ti Laighean. Níl fagtha sa cheantar ach Aire Gaeltachta.

Amhrain ghra is mo a chum O Doirnín, amhrain aille beo a mhuscloídh macalla laidir i gceoi gach Gaeil a chuireann speis in amhrain na gceantracha Gaeltachta ata fos sa tír. Tá 'Maire Ni Cheallaigh' ar amhran chomh brea is ata le fáil; tá samhlaíocht bhriomrithim laidir agus saibhreas Gaeilge ann a thogfadh croi an mhairbh fhein. Is i dteach an oil ata suíomh an amhrain seo, agus feicimid ann mar sin an da theama is

coitianta ag O Doirnín: na mna agus an t-ol. E fein is deise a deireann se:

Caithead fein a bhfuil de mo laethaibh
Go dtaga an t-eag feasta ag oil le gach saoi,

Ag gabhail vearsai is ag mealladh maighdean

Ar feadh na hEireann go cealmhar caoin.

Ta treithe eile le sonru ann chomh maith: Ne am h-spleachas, no mar adeir se san aon amhran Bearla a leagtar síos do:

I'll keep my own 'vote',
I'll give it to none,

I value no more a Parliament Man . . .

Comhairle arbh fhíu go mor do lucht Gaeilge na linne seo a mheas go curamach.

D'fheadfa a ran freisin go raibh se frith-chleireach: ar chaoi ar bith, ní raibh faitíos ar bith air iad a ionsai faoin sainnt agus faoin a bhfimin-teacht, mar a dheineann se i 'Gearan Ui Dhoirnín'. Ach molann se freisin an sagart criostai, nuair a castar ceann air, ar nos duine den bheirt i 'An Da Shean'.

Ce'n ionad a bheidh ag Doirnín i measc filí na hEireann amach anseo? Is cinnte go mbeidh se i bhfad chun tosaigh ar go leor do na filí Muimhneacha a raibh oiread cainte futhu sa cheithre scor bliain anuas. Idir simplíocht shaibhir a theangan, bu aine agus uilíochas a chuid teamai, agus uire a intinne fein, is file e

nach dtiocfaidh aois riamh ar a shaothar.

Ta buíochas ag dul do chuile dhuine a chuidigh leis na h-amhrain seo a chur ar fail duinn, go h-airid na cinn ar dhean an Gum cinsireacht orthu. Beidh na h-amhrain uilig anois ag an te a chuirfidh an leabhar seo le leabhar an Ghluim.

FOR

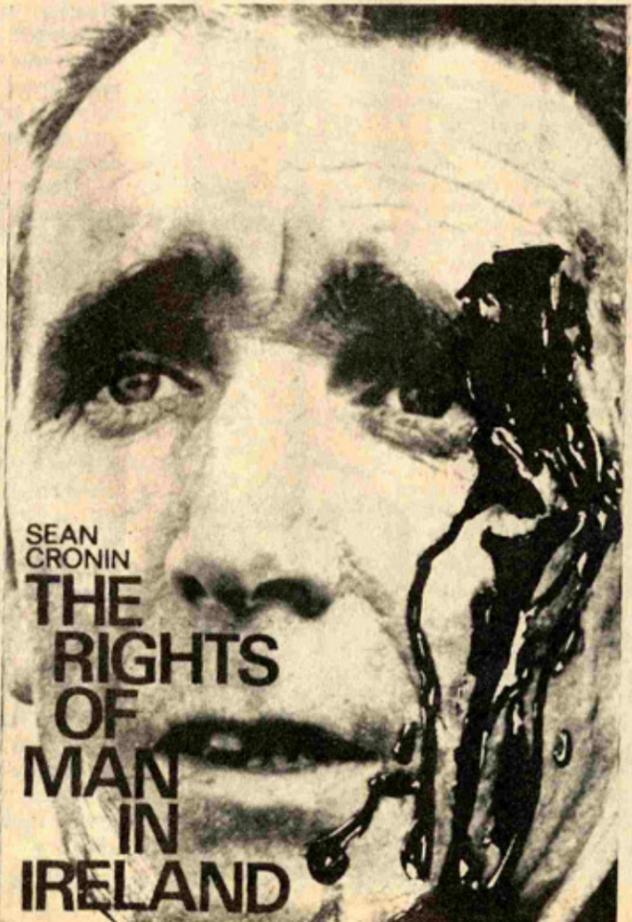
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Write for Book List

Dublin Housing Action Committee scored some significant victories during last month.

The action began on Monday, May 12, as members of the committee were preparing to go to a demonstration which had been arranged for the Corporation Housing Dept. in Jervis Street. Around 11 a.m. word came that an eviction had taken place in Upper Gardiner Street. An elderly widow had been evicted from her ground floor flat for alleged non-payment of rent.

When the Housing Action members arrived they found the woman, Mrs. M. Whelan, outside the premises and she told them that the landlord had gained entrance to the flat while she was out and had changed the locks on the door of the flat and on the front entrance door of the house. The Landlord, the sheriff's representative and a hired "bully-boy" had taken up position in the hall to prevent Mrs. Whelan from returning to her flat.

But, they reckoned without the resourcefulness of the experienced members of the Housing Action Committee. Two of the members got into the flat through the window and surprised the landlord in the hall. One member quickly opened the front door and the demonstrators moved in. The sheriff's man cleared off when he saw the "mob".

POLICE CALLED

The landlord called the police, and shortly afterwards Superintendent "Smiler" Smith, formerly of TV's "Garda Patrol", arrived. Negotiations began. The Superintendent declared himself to be completely impartial.

At first the landlord was unwilling to accept Mrs. Whelan back as a tenant unless the alleged arrears of rent were paid in full that day. Supt. Smith agreed that this was a reasonable offer. Mrs. Whelan did not agree. Then the landlord offered to accept payment over a period of months. The Supt. urged Mrs. Whelan to accept. She would not.

The landlord was told that if he refused to accept Mrs. Whelan as a tenant the Housing Action Committee would fully publicise the case by all available methods. Eventually, he agreed that Mrs. Whelan could return to the flat at the original rent plus a small extra payment each week to cover an agreed amount of arrears. The "impartial" Supt. left in a huff when he heard the landlord accept.

JERVIS STREET

Having settled the eviction case the committee members went ahead with their planned protest at the Corporation Housing Dept. in Jervis Street. John Keogh, married with two children, who had been squatting at 48 Lr. Mount Street, chained himself to a downpipe in one of the offices. He told Corporation officials that he was determined to stay until they offered him proper accommodation. And stay he did, until noon of the following day. By then the officials had had enough. Mr. Keogh and other members of the Housing Action

HOUSING ACTION VICTORY IN DUBLIN

Committee were invited to have discussions with the principal officer Mr. O'Brien.

Again, the committee got a satisfactory settlement. Mr. Keogh agreed to return to his parents address and apply for rehousing from there. The Corporation officials promised favourable consideration of his application. This was the first occasion on which the Corporation negotiated with the Housing Action Committee and represents a considerable step forward in the Dublin housing struggle.

During the protest at Jervis Street the committee members came into contact with a family who had unsuccessfully sought emergency accommodation from the Corporation. This family, Mr. and Mrs. Maher and their baby son Conrad, had been living in overcrowded conditions with parents and other members of their family. The situation had become intolerable and they had decided to move out. Mrs. Maher was even willing to go to Griffith Barracks.

The Housing Action committee sug-

gested that they consider squatting in one of the vacant houses known to the committee. They agreed to do this. The place selected was a four-room cottage at the rear of the Fiat Motor Works near Mount Street Bridge. This cottage was due to be demolished by the Fiat Company to make way for a new entrance to their factory. The building was perfectly sound and the Mahers were moved in on Thursday night, May 15.

WORKERS ACT

On Friday morning, May 16, three demolition workers (whose names are now known to the Housing Action Committee) arrived, accompanied by an Italian national from the Fiat works. One of the demolition party shouted through the letter box of the cottage, telling the Mahers to get out. Then they immediately began to smash in the roof of the building with the family still inside. This blackguardism was apparently observed by some of the

workers on the upper floor of the Fiat works behind the cottage. Within minutes a large number of angry workers emerged from the factory and rushed round to the cottage.

The demolition men, on seeing this demonstration, left the roof and beat a hasty retreat. Production at the Fiat factory came to a standstill as more workers came out to join in the protest. They remained out until the management gave an undertaking that the Mahers would be left in possession. The Fiat company issued a statement saying that they intended taking legal action against the Mahers. They took the case to court on the following Wednesday, May 21, which resulted in the Mahers getting two weeks in which to find alternative accommodation.

The most significant aspect of this case is, of course, the fact that a large number of workers struck in support of a homeless family. The Fiat workers deserve commendation for their support of the homeless. They have set an excellent example in solidarity for trade-unionists everywhere.

R.D.S. CONVENTION

The Housing Action Committee rounded off a very successful month with a propaganda assault on the International Housing and Planning Conference which was held in the RDS, Ballsbridge, May 19-23. On the opening day of the conference members of the committee picketed outside the main entrance and distributed leaflets informing the delegates of the Dublin housing crisis. Inside, the conference was being addressed by Kevin (who fiddles while Dublin falls) Boland and Fianna Fail Paramount Chief, "Sweet" Jack Lynch. Both gentlemen were interrupted by supporters of the Housing Action Committee, Alan Matthews of TCD Republican Club and an Uasal Seamus O Tuathail, journalist, who urged the delegates to seek the truth about the housing situation in Dublin.

As a result of these demonstrations, twenty delegates agreed to attend a special meeting of the Committee on Thursday, May 22. At this meeting the delegates were given a lecture on the housing situation as seen by the Committee and a specially prepared paper on the same subject. After the meeting they were brought on a walking tour of the Mountjoy Sq./Gardiner St. area. The delegates were very impressed with the aims and work of the Housing Action Committee. The special leaflet was later distributed to all delegates at the RDS. The Fianna Fail attempt to present a rosy picture of housing in Ireland was shattered.

HOUSING BILL

Quietly and almost unnoticed the Housing Bill, 1968, was passed by both houses of the Twenty Six County Government last month.

The main purpose of the Bill, in the words of the accompanying memorandum, is to secure "more effective control over the demolition or change in the use of houses". The fact that the Bill became law is of great significance to the Dublin Housing struggle; the fact that it was introduced at all, together with the fact that it was passed by both Houses in a very short space of time indicates that the considerable pressure brought to bear on local and national Housing Authorities has found its mark.

Under the terms of the new act a person wishing to demolish or change the use of a "habitable house" will have to obtain permission from the appropriate Housing Authority (with certain exceptions).

As the operation of many sections of the Bill are hedged around with qualifications, exceptions and, conditions it is not possible to say at this early stage how its operation will affect the whole sphere of planning, and landlord and tenant law. The one person who, more than any other, could comment on the Act is Judge Deale, the author of a new text book, "Landlord and tenant law in Ireland", recently published by the Incorporated Law Society. However, as the book is being sold at the prohibitive price of £6/6/0 few of those ever likely to be evicted will have the opportunity to "browse" through its contents.

And so we end this brief survey on Dublin Housing. We have investigated three case histories and seen, in each case, victory for the "agitators". We have also seen how the Housing Act is also, in no small measure, the result of successful agitating. The message is clear — "Keep on agitating, You'll get a little more each day".



● The damaged roof of the cottage in which the Maher family squatted.

Connradh President defines freedom

We publish below an edited version of the speech delivered by an t-Uasal Maol-sheachlainn O'Caollai, President of Connradh na Gaeilge, at that organisations annual Ard Fheis held in Cavan last month.

It deserves to be read by every Republican concerned about the future and past of Connradh, as in our opinion, it marks a new awareness and awakening within the official language movement.

Let an t-Uasal O'Caollai's words speak for themselves: "Frequently people tend to make an end of the means, that is the language and forget about our real aim—a free Gaelic country'. What is meant by a free Gaelic country? Not land, lakes, mountains and glens, surely, but people—a community—a nation.

A nation or national community must not be confused with an aggregation of individuals with no stronger common link than the fact that they live in proximity to each other.

A national community is a group of people bound together by their common culture—that is their complete distinct style of living—institutions, values, interests and outlooks.

We are convinced that the Irish language is the only cornerstone upon which a separate Irish culture can rest.

As for the word 'free', let us be exact about this. By freedom, do we mean permission to choose the colour of our flag while at the same time accepting indiscriminately every attitude and every value which America and England provide?

It is now all too clear that today's establishment stands for the preservation of the English status quo—the status quo of assimilation with Anglo-American mass-culture.

The short term aims of Ireland's wars of independence were to establish a state which would be able to complete the national revolution through the forces which I have mentioned. It was quite clear that the only force which supported the restoration—the will of the people—was not sufficient.

It would be as well now to state boldly that to all appearances the aims of the revolution have been put aside especially by political parties, state service and lucht ghaimbín.

Of course these people will continue a while in praise of Pearse, Connolly and other national heroes, but there is little danger that they will act according to their word,—that they will stand by Pearse's slogan 'not free merely but Gaelic as well' or by Connolly's principle that everything which strengthens the Irish people's hold on Ireland should be assisted and everything which loosens that hold should be opposed."



FISHING FOR VOTES

By kind permission of the Minister for Agriculture, of these 26 benighted counties, fishermen in some areas along the western coast will be permitted to use drift nets for salmon fishing. This is the result of the public inquiry held last September at which drift netting was strenuously opposed by Sir Richard Levinge and his band of River Lords. Drift netting will be allowed in three areas; Galway, Connemara and Ballinakill.

Is this really a victory for the western fishermen? The details are not so encouraging. The nets will be limited to 800 yards with 2½ inch mesh. In Mr. Blayney's own constituency of Donegal, where drift netting is already allowed, the fishermen are using nets of 1,500 and even of 6,000 yards. What Mr.

Blayney would not dare offer in Donegal, he offers to Galway as a great concession, no doubt with an eye on the general election.

Sir Richard, of course, has only one vote but, he will surely understand Mr. Blayney's position, after all, netting will only be allowed this year from June 9 to July 21 and with the nets limited to 800 yards plenty of salmon will escape up the rivers where, no doubt, they will be well looked after by the private owners.

However, the Galway fishermen may not like being classed below their Donegal colleagues and they may very well have this in mind as they go to the polling booth on June 18. They will also have had nine days of experience with 800 yard nets. Mr. Blayney may have tried the wrong bait.

SINN FEIN ACTIVE IN DONEGAL

As a result of an enquiry by the Ballinamore and Fintona Sinn Féin cumainn, it has been established that Captain P. D. Milburn of Cloghran House, Cloghran, Co. Donegal, has control of the fishing rights on a considerable stretch of the River Finn, extending from Lough Finn to Ballybofey.

At first it had been the opinion of many local people that the captain had leased the fisheries from the Foyle Fisheries Commission, but now it has been established that he has sole rights to these waters. Rumour has it that the bold captain also has the fishing rights of Lough Finn, and nearby Loch na mBradán.

Further enquiries are proceeding to determine the captain's interests in fisheries in the area.

It is hoped to mount a campaign in the near future for the restoration of these fisheries to the people of this Donegal Gaeltacht, and a fish-in and public meeting may be held in the area later in the year.

Orange and Green Tories Collaborate

Donegal County Council, on the proposal of Séamus Rodgers (Sinn Féin) last month overruled a decision of the Minister for Local Government.

The Minister had given a decision on a planning appeal in favour of a Mr. Cooper, with an English address, who is a brother-in-law of Feranagh Unionist M.P., and former Stormont Agriculture Minister, Harry West.

Mr. Cooper submitted plans for re-construction of a boat-house for use as a summer residence, to Donegal County Council, and Mr. Michael O'Malley, chief assistant planning officer of the council, refused permission on the grounds that the proposed building would interfere with the livelihood of local inshore and lobster fishermen, as well as being detrimental to the pier at Portnoo.

This area is frequented by many tourists in the tourist season, and local tourist interests and fishermen were up in arms at any suggestion that planning permission be given.

Motor vehicles going on to the pier here must reverse to the main road as there is no turntable at the pier. If permission had been granted, a turntable could not be provided, and local fishermen could be denied access to the pier.

It is reported locally that two ministers of the 26-

County government made representations on Mr. Cooper's behalf following the rejection of the plans submitted. One of the ministers represents a Donegal constituency, and the other the Monaghan constituency.

The position at the moment is that, as a result of Councillor Rodgers' proposal being carried, Mr. Cooper cannot proceed with re-construction of the building, but he has a right of appeal to the minister again.

However, it is thought unlikely that he will proceed further as local residents are determined that this building will not be re-constructed.



FIANNA EIREANN NOTES

G.H.Q.

As Na Fianna continues to grow in strength up and down the country, the need for adult leadership becomes greater, and adult leaders are required if this growth is to continue. If you are a young, nationally-minded adult and are pre-

pared to give service, active service, we put it to you that you can best serve the Ireland of to-day and tomorrow by joining with us in Na Fianna.

EASTER

An Ard Oifig sends its congratulations to all our

Fianna and Officers who made this year's turnout for the Easter Commemorations the biggest and best for many years. A special word to our members within the Occupied Area who came out in uniform.

BODENSTOWN

G.H.Q. will hold an inspection of registration cards before the parade in Bodenstown. Please note that partly-uniformed members shall not be allowed parade. Full details of the parade are in the latest issue of 'Nuacht.'

ANNUAL CAMP

By now all Sluaithe have received circulars and forms for the Annual Camp to Co.

Sligo from 5th to 15th August. Information on the camp is obtainable from Director of Organisation, M. O Muineachain.

GIRL SCOUTS

With four strong Sluaithe and an efficient committee under the Director of Girl Scouting the Girl Scouts are consolidating their position in Dublin.

An Officers' Training Class has been set up and all intending Officers must complete the training course before being commissioned and appointed.

Uniformed Girl Scouts paraded at Easter in Dublin, Dundalk and Newry. Their Dublin turnout was really good.



Members of Fianna Fáil UCD Cumann were issued with rifles at a recent commemoration. This is surely the first step to fascist dictatorship. If Fianna Fáil lose the election this month will these rifles be turned against the people?

MacGiolla

visits Drogheda

A well-attended meeting of the Colonel Leonard Cumann, Drogheda, received the President of Sinn Féin, An t-Uasal Tomas Mac Giolla, in the Cumann rooms, recently.

Donchadha Mac Raghnaill, Chairman, gave an account of the Cumann's achievements to date, its involvement in the day-to-day problems of the people and of the increased membership.

An tUasal Mac Giolla praised the Cumann for being one of the most active in the country, for fully implementing the Sinn Féin policy and for giving active leadership to the people on all matters affecting them.

In the course of an address the President viewed the Civil Rights campaign in the Six Counties and how it affects republicans. He called on all republicans and the people of Drogheda to keep themselves informed of the position in the Six Counties and to give all possible assistance in the fight for civil rights.

The big struggle, he continued, on this side of the Border was, and always has been, the struggle for ownership of the resources of the country and this struggle has still to be fought. This year is the 800th anniversary of the landing of Strongbow, the 1st Earl of Pembroke, in Ireland. 800 years later, the Earl of Pembroke still owns huge sections of our capital city. Other conquerors acquired our rivers, their descendants still control them.

Sinn Féin have opposed the control of Ireland's resources in many areas during the past year. The Drogheda area played its part in exposing the ownership of the River Boyne. This type of activity will increase, he said, and the struggle for the reconquest of our land and rivers will be redoubled until the Irish people control what is rightfully theirs. An t-Uasal Mac Giolla stressed that Sinn Féin is looking for the assistance of everyone in this struggle.

An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

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Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir.

An Election is Near

The issues before the people of the 26 counties in the 1969 election are not clear-cut. There is no simple 'black v. white' advice that we can give to voters.

It is however necessary to choose between the various shades of grey: it is possible to give guidelines with which to make this choice.

Choice is necessary because these people can make laws governing the working of the State machine, an entity with an objective existence, with physical force at its disposal that can be used to put you in jail, or otherwise deprive you of liberty.

Choice is possible in the case of sitting candidates on the basis of their records and in the case of prospectives on the basis of their declared attitudes on certain key issues.

The key issues are those related to the general selling out of the nation that is going on apace:

1) the legalisation of the sell-out: the Free Trade Agreement and the Common Market.

2) machinery for prevention of opposition: the Criminal Justice Bill and the Trade Union and Industrial Relations Bill.

3) social and cultural effects: the decline in official support for the language, the housing question, the conflict between commercial and cultural interests in RTE, etc.

4) the acceptance of the division of the country: the bolstering up of the Stormont government by giving it de facto support (as in the Lemass-O'Neill talks) and then playing the game of Unionism by giving crude 'support' to the Nationalists at election-time.

These issues are the crucial ones in the economic and cultural re-conquest by imperialism with the connivance of the gombeen-capitalists. Questions to candidates can elicit attitudes.

Numerous consequent issues exist: for example, why should someone engaged in retail trade support a party which is actively encouraging foreign supermarkets to come in and bankrupt him?

It is possible to distinguish further by looking at the channels of influence on the various candidates. In the case of the property-oriented professionals of Fine Gael the only pressure possible is voting power in subsequent elections, a weak weapon in the short run. What we want is more continuous democracy. Candidates with roots in organisations with large memberships, possibly holding office in them, can be influenced much more continuously and effectively: trade unions and farming organisations are bodies which have much more potential as regards political influence than is usually realised by their members.

This, therefore, is the additional factor which distinguishes between those who express verbal support on the key issues; it can even be used to distinguish between rival Fianna Fail candidates: choose the one who can be influenced by organised democratic pressure the more easily.

Republicans and supporters should, where possible, engage in organised activity which would bring the issues listed into the public eye and enable the people to relate them to the claims of the various candidates.

ENNIS CUMANN FORMED

At a meeting of the re-organised Ennis Sinn Fein Cumann the following officers were elected for the coming year — Chairman, Kevin J. Browne; Vice-Chairman, Patrick Shanahan; Treasurer, Desmond Brennan; Secretary, Padraig Naughton; and Assistant Secretary, Michael McNamara.

The meeting, which was attended by Michael O'Connell, Organiser, sparked off new enthusiasm for the Movement in the town.

The new Cumann recently held a protest march and meeting against the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

At the meeting Mr. Kevin Cambell, Solr., Swinford, addressed an interested gathering at O'Connell Square, Ennis. The meeting was proceeded by a march through the main streets of the town and the historic Square was sealed off to traffic while the meeting was in progress. Mr. M. J. Glynn, Ennistymon, presided, and other speakers were Messrs. P. J. Burke, Sinn Fein member of the Clare Co. Council, and Sean O'Connor, Independent Council member, Mr. Matty Finnucane, Dysart, and Mr. Michael O'Connell, Sinn Fein, Comhairle Ceanntar, Clare, also spoke.

MOVEMENT GIVES WARNING TO FOREIGN SPECULATORS

SINN FEIN TO COMBAT ANTI-NATIONAL GROUP

Sean O'Cionnaith, Sinn Fein organiser for Connacht, speaking at a meeting of Cumann an Athar Ui Ghriofa, Sinn Fein, in Ballinasloe last month said: "The people of the west of Ireland are fighting for their very existence as a viable community. The economic exploitation of the country by British Imperialism with the help of native anti-national elements has left the western portion of our country denuded of people, under-capitalised and in a state of social, economic, and cultural decay.

The very elements who have given the greatest assistance to the foreign exploiter and who have consistently opposed every effort by the Irish people to establish separate and independent nationhood for their country now choose this time when the people of the west are at their lowest ebb to launch an all-out attack on the Irish language. It is the intention of the "LFM" to mobilise all the anti-national forces for a final assault to deal a death blow to the Irish language.

"The attempt to pressure parents to back their attempt to close down the last few all-Irish schools in the country should be resisted by the people of Galway. This pressure has already come to a head here in Ballinasloe. The people of Ath Eascrach should now nip this attempt in the bud and refuse to be pressured by these outsiders. The "LFM" purport to be concerned about the children of Ath Eascrach but they have cheerfully watched the town die as family after family were forced to leave their homes

and now they want to trample on their pride and spit on their culture and traditions. "The campaign of hate against the Irish language must be halted as it is damaging the very concept of Irish Nationality. Ath Eascrach can be the spot where the tide is turned against the anti-national hate mongers. It can be done if those who believe in the future of the Irish Nation and its people and in the development and growth of a vigorous indigenous culture, unite together in a move to crush those whose objective is the complete destruction of Ireland as a national entity.

Sinn Fein therefore intends to contact all national and cultural organisations in the area with a view to forming a united front to face the onslaught being launched by the "LFM" on the Nation and its culture.

The following statement has been given to us for publication:

WE HEREBY ADVISE prospective business enterprises in Ireland, in their own interest, that the Irish Republican Movement is concerned at the amount of such property that has been and still is being acquired by non-nationals and by foreign commercial organisations, including those who have availed of the lax naturalisation procedure of the present ruling faction. Property acquisition is encouraged by certain Irish estate agents, some of whom even attempt to entice foreign purchasers by advertising offers of Irish property in the press in their countries; but such agents are in no position to guarantee security of tenure, in a rapidly-changing political environment, to their clients, who are in effect called upon to gamble on Irish internal political developments.

The apparent facility with which property in Ireland may at present be acquired is deceptive and temporary, being due to the self-interested acquiescence of the ruling faction in the process, whereas the campaign against foreign acquisition—which has always been an integral element of the fight for national independence — gains ground rapidly today, and can only acquire irresistible momentum in the future. As it originates, not in reactionary xenophobia, but in analysis and appreciation of the social evils to which such acquisition gives rise, all progressive political elements in Ireland are in agreement on the principle involved.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, therefore, that the Republican Movement regards as a matter of urgency, and gives priority to, the restoration to the Irish people of such foreign-owned property, without considering any right to compensation as necessarily resulting. The publication of this announcement in journals abroad is deemed

notice adequate to place the onus of responsibility upon those who may be unwise enough to acquire any interest—whether directly or in trust, whether in person or through local representatives—in the classes of property above stated, for any hardship (which the Republican Movement wishes to avoid) consequent upon such measures, up to and including eventual expropriation, as may be considered necessary. — On behalf of the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau Signed: J. J. McGarrity, Secretary.

Copies of the statement are being sent to all National and Foreign Press, World News Agencies and Embassies.

The statement comes at a most opportune time; the West German opposition party, the Free Democratic Party, has recently tabled a question in the German Parliament on "the possibility of German farmers in Ireland being dispossessed".

A recent booklet published by the Bank of Ireland to entice foreign capital to this country, "Ireland", has a special chapter in it—"Fundamental Human Rights — Freedom from Expropriation"! The booklet goes on to quote Art. 43 (1) of the 1937 Constitution which "protects private property rights".

However the booklet forgets to quote Sub-Section 2 of Art. 43 under which "property may be expropriated in the exigencies of the common good". A shrewd omission, no doubt, but one that J. J. McGarrity has obviously noted.

We await developments with interest.

DUBLIN PARADES

Dublin Comhairle Ceanntar of Sinn Fein announce that a Wolfe Tone Commemoration parade will be held on Saturday, June 21 at 3 p.m. The parade will start from Parnell Sq. and go to the Wolfe Tone memorial park at Jervis Street where a wreath will be laid and an oration given.

Dublin Young Socialists are holding a public meeting and march to protest against repressive legislation North and South, on Saturday, June 7, 3 p.m. at the GPO. The march will go to the Departments of Labour and Justice, Fianna Fail H.Q. and the British Embassy.

MASS

Mass will be offered on Sunday 8th June at 10.45 at the Franciscan Church, Merchant's Quay, Dublin for the repose of the souls of Peter McCarthy, Bob Clancy, and Charles O'Hare, whose anniversaries occur about this time.

Sympathy

The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein at its last meeting sent expressions of sympathy to the relatives of the late Mrs. Gaughran of Dundalk, of well-known Republican family, and to the relatives of the late Joe Dolan of Sligo.

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CHURCH NOTICES

St. Stephen's Church
Mount Street Crescent
Sermons will be preached on
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL
at Matins at 11 a.m. and Evensong at 7 p.m.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN

You may have wondered what has gone wrong with the "freedom" which was won between 1916 and 1921. Why does emigration continue, and why is the wealth of the country still exploited by a few rich men, many of them foreigners and absentees?

The Republican Movement asserts that our freedom has not yet been won, that the 26-County "Republic" declared in 1949 is a sham. Ireland cannot be free until her whole wealth is under the control of the organised working people of the whole country. To achieve this we must sweep aside the present administrators of money-grabbing politicians and their foreign monopolist bosses.

But to do this, it is necessary for those who now understand and accept this to organise into a conscious movement capable of leading and organising the working people so as to achieve finally the freedom envisaged by Connolly and Pearse.

Our brothers in the Six Counties, though hampered by illegality and other disabilities, are building a movement that, when the time comes, will be able to draw on the support of all working people in the North, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter. We will also be able to call on the Irish in Britain, the victims of decades of economic decline, to help us rebuild the nation.

In the meantime, YOU, here and now, can join Sinn Fein and learn about our programme. Tabhair lamh chunta san obair uasal.

Lion isteach an fhoirm seo agus cuir i go dtí: An Runai, Sinn Fein, 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

I would like to join Sinn Fein

Ainm

Seoladh

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Title: The United Irishman, Vol. 23, No. 6

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